



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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9 July 1992

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Togo

In an interview with the BBC, a British policeman involved in the international inquiry into the assassination attempt against opposition leader Gilchrist Olympio said the evidence "suggests very strongly that the military were involved." He noted that President Eyadema's son, an army captain, was seen in the area immediately before the attack.

South Africa

President de Klerk said he hoped the ANC "would show great restraint and responsibility" in its response to his letter, SAPA reported. He emphasized that the government remained committed to negotiations and that he would not play "political games" with the ANC.

EC Aid To Promote Democracy, Help Refugees

*MB0707193792 London BBC World Service
in English 2030 GMT 6 Jul 92*

[Text] In its latest package of aid projects for Africa, financed through the Lome Convention, the EEC today announced a new element: money to promote democracy, including the establishment of an electoral system for Angola. Most of the projects announced today fall under the traditional categories of road improvement, aid to refugees, and structural adjustment.

Whereas it has become possible to establish democracy in Angola after years of civil war, the EEC agreed to an Angolan appeal to assist in the election campaign. The aid will be in the form of what has been described as logistical assistance, the compilation of election registers, and the dissemination of information on the election process.

Today's EEC announcement also covers Zambia. The EEC statement recalls that in October 1991, Zambia gained a new democratically elected government which is supposed to speed economic reforms aimed at establishing a market economic in order to make the country less dependent on copper export earnings. The EEC says it will grant \$50 million to finance Zambian imports and the government should use the counterpart funds to promote economic growth and reduce the social impact of the economic austerity program on the lower income brackets of the population.

Assistance to refugees will be centered on Malawi. Some \$6 million have been earmarked to assist nearly 1 million Mozambican refugees. The sum will be administered by several nongovernmental relief organizations. Logistical assistance will be distributed by helicopter and light aircraft in areas where roads have been destroyed. Assistance has also been announced for Uganda, Swaziland, Burundi, Malawi, Mozambique, and Senegal.

SADCC Culture, Information Ministers Meet

*MB0307192392 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 3 Jul 92*

[Report by Teresa Lima]

[Excerpt] The first session of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference [SADCC] Committee of Information and Culture Ministers has just ended without approving any of the documents brought before it.

The final communique presented to the ministerial teams of the 10 SADCC members says the document on political strategy and priorities for the information and culture sectors must be submitted to their respective governments for additional consideration.

That document, the work schedule up to 1995, and the criteria for presenting and selecting projects must also be analyzed at another meeting to be held within the next two months.

The ministers recommended to the secretariat in charge of that sector, which is coordinated by Mozambique, to continue its work aimed at promoting a cinema festival, an arts festival, the creation of a culture data bank, a book fair, and a conference on human rights and democracy in southern Africa. [passage omitted]

Inter-African Human Rights Union Established

*AB0707151692 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion
Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 0700 5 Jul 92*

[Excerpt] The constituent congress of the Inter-African Human Rights Union [UIDH] ended in Ouagadougou

yesterday. Participants from various African human rights leagues and associations met for three days to discuss the union's draft statutes and rules of procedure. At the end of the deliberations, the participants made proposals and necessary amendments to the provisions that will govern the Inter-African Human Rights Union's activities.

The Islamic charter mentioned in the draft statutes and rules of procedure was not unanimously accepted and had to be dropped from the final text. At the end of the deliberations yesterday, the delegates elected members of the coordinating bureau and executive secretariat. In addition to the union's headquarters, the chairmanship of the coordinating bureau was secured by Burkina Faso; thus the union's chairman is Alidou Ouedraogo, head of the Burkinabe Movement of Human and Peoples' Rights. In his speech, Mr. Ouedraogo did not fail to hail the courage of all those who strove to create this institution. He then spoke of the future role of the UIDH. Let us listen to him:

[Begin recording] The UIDH, which has just been created in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, will change and help to change people's behavior and conscience in regard to human beings and their rights. One of our institution's prime tasks will be to stress the sacredness of human life and to make each African government grasp the need to create the (?necessary) conditions for improving the lot of each citizen. The UIDH will spearhead the struggle aimed at defending human rights wherever they are threatened, and it will do so by using the most appropriate and practical means. In the weeks ahead, it will draw up the guidelines for its activities and disclose them to the African and international communities. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Gabon**Opposition's No Confidence Motion Defeated**

AB0807113592 Libreville Africa No 1 in French
0730 GMT 7 Jun 92

[Text] We begin with Gabon where the no confidence motion moved by the Democratic Opposition Coordination [COD] against Prime Minister Casimir Oye-Mba's government failed to go through Parliament. Members of Parliament from the majority party, the Gabonese Democratic Party, defeated this motion with 72 votes against, as compared with 45 votes for. The motion centered on the question of holding fresh municipal and local government elections. Prime Minister Casimir Oye-Mba gave his impressions after this severe test. He spoke to Francois Doukoun Nkouangi:

[Begin recording] [Oye-Mba] I am naturally satisfied that the no confidence motion was defeated by a comfortable majority. This shows that the government can count on the majority it has in the National Assembly and continue to work on.

[Nkouangi] Mr. Prime Minister, two no confidence motions in two months: Is that not a bit too much?

[Oye-Mba] I prefer to see in that a sign of the vitality of democracy in Gabon. Even though our country has only just reemerged on democratic pluralism—since the end of the national conference—it seems this democratic pluralism is not an empty slogan. The government governs while Parliament passes and makes laws and controls government action, so as far as I am concerned, this is simply a sign that democratic pluralism has really returned to Gabon and all of us, whether members of government, MP's, or political party members, must endeavor to consolidate this democratic pluralism for the good of Gabon. [end recording]

You heard Casimir Oye-Mba, Gabonese prime minister, answering questions from Francois Doukoun Nkouangi as he stepped out of Parliament.

This morning, our reporter rang lawyer Pierre Louis Agondjo-Okawe, MP and chairman of the Gabonese Progress Party, one of the main groups in the COD. He

asked him whether the defeat of the no confidence motion was a setback for the COD.

[Begin recording] It is not a setback for us. In moving the no confidence motion, we were not expecting to bring down the government, considering the majority it commands in Parliament. What matters for us is the fact that 38 of us signed the no confidence motion while 45 voted for it. It means we made full use of our voting power and we also note that there was one invalid vote and two abstentions which could only have come from the opposing camp, because otherwise there should have been 44 votes for and 76 against on the government side. That is my initial observation.

The second observation is that I do not believe the prime minister emerged from this test any stronger, because his own majority told him through the leader of the Gabonese Democratic Party's parliamentary group, that he could have done better. This means our no confidence motion was justified because this is the second time he is being told the same thing—that he could have done better—and there were members of the majority group who criticized him. So, for us it has not been a setback at all and we are prepared to start it all over again if the prime minister and his government continue to trample on the law. [end recording]

Rwanda**Defense, Interior Ministers Uninjured in Attack**

EA0807192092 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale
de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1115 GMT
7 Jul 92

[Excerpt] On 6 July, Defense Minister Dr. James Gasana, Interior Minister Mr. Faustin Munyazesa, and the chief of staff of the Rwandan Armed Forces, Colonel B.M. Nsabimana, toured the front in the Byumba operational sector. They were met on arrival by the Byumba operational commander, Lieutenant Colonel Gracien Kabirigi, who briefed them on the tactical situation.

They then went to Miyove Center, which is under the total control of our troops. While there, the two ministers, the chief of staff, and those accompanying them came under mortar fire from the other side of (Ubugenzi), Kivuye commune, but no one was wounded. [passage omitted]

Djibouti

Foreign Minister Bahdon Interviewed on Issues

PM0807155692 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT
in Arabic 3 Jul 92 p 5

[Interview with Foreign Minister Moumin Bahdon by Sayyid Ahmad Khalifah in Djibouti; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Khalifah] What are the main interests in Djibouti foreign policy at present?

[Bahdon] Our main interests are local and regional peace and strengthening the base of internal and external dialogues to resolve this region's difficult problems and complex issues. [passage omitted]

[Khalifah] You announced recently the establishment of a pluralistic democratic system. Are you optimistic about democracy, inasmuch as it represents some kind of solution to your problems?

[Bahdon] I am neither optimistic nor pessimistic... I am somewhere in the middle. We have decided to implement the demands of the self-styled oppositionists. If they think this is the solution to the country's problems, let us work together within the framework of the democratic system. [passage omitted]

[Khalifah] If peace prevails after recent steps, will military capabilities remain as they are or will the forces be reduced?

[Bahdon] If present conditions disappear, obviously we will reduce the size of the forces currently in service. Certainly the government cannot bear the cost of more than 10,000 troops.

[Khalifah] Does Djibouti receive no military support from other quarters? What about the withdrawal of money from the country's reserves for military expenditures?

[Bahdon] The aid expected from France for the Armed Forces has been meager right from the beginning. During the two years that followed independence, France covered the Army's budget, but the aid was then reduced to 5 percent and then this amount was stopped after recent incidents. The state shouldered the burdens and, as a result, it became necessary for the states' capabilities to be bolstered, which prompted the withdrawal from the reserves primarily to support the state's budget and capabilities.

[Khalifah] What revived the conflicts in Djibouti... specifically the confrontation between its two parts, Afar and non-Afar?

[Bahdon] Regional conditions encouraged and reactivated some Afar politicians abroad. What tempted them more was the presence of a trained and armed Ethiopian Afar militia—the militia which operated within Mengistu Haile Mariam's army. As for oppositionists inside

Djibouti, they regarded this as a chance to settle old political scores or to realize ambitions and false hopes. [passage omitted]

[Khalifah] How would you assess the opposition's response to your recent initiative—democracy, pluralism... and the constitution?

[Bahdon] Ahmed Dini rejected the democracy that he demanded, because it is not really among his priorities. He wants power whereby he has the first and last word. [passage omitted]

[Khalifah] There is now a military deadlock: French forces between you and the armed front. How long can such a situation continue?

[Bahdon] This situation must end before the referendum scheduled for September. We believe that France must continue its role to persuade them to end this situation peacefully before the referendum. Otherwise, if conditions force us to do so, every available means will be used to end this anomalous situation before 4 September. [passage omitted]

[Khalifah] Some eight months have gone by and opposition forces seem to be receiving aid which enables them to continue in circumstances which are considered difficult, especially since Ethiopia and Eritrea do not sympathize with the armed oppositionists. In your view, what are the reasons for the continuation of supplies to these oppositionists?

[Bahdon] Infiltration is taking place across the Ethiopian border without the Ethiopian Government's knowledge or approval. As for Eritrea, it displays no sympathy, cooperation, or tolerance in this connection. They have emphasized this to us and they are sincere, in view of their desire for regional peace and stability and to resolve their problems through dialogue. But weapons and food supplies come to the armed opposition from Yemen. We have documents and information proving this. We assume that the Yemeni authorities are well intentioned, and we believe that these things are taking place as part of smuggling operations. But we are trying to draw the Yemeni Government's attention to this in order to monitor the situation and to resolve it in a manner that will serve both countries' ties and common interests. [passage omitted]

Opposition Leader Discusses Military Situation

PM0907093292 London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 3 Jul 92 p 5

[Interview with Mohamed Kadamy, military commander of the Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy by Ahmad Hasan Dahli in Paris; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Dahli] What is the situation in the north of the country?

[Kadamy] Calm has prevailed on the combat fronts since our decision to announce a unilateral cease-fire on 28 February. No one, however, rules out the possibility of the storm blowing up and the battles breaking out again if the brothers' and friends' initiatives to resolve the Djibouti crisis diplomatically falter.

[Dahli] What positions are under your control?

[Kadamy] Our units are in control and running the civil affairs of all the areas situated between Obock and Tadjourah and between Yoboki and Dikhil.

[Dahli] How far are your advanced units' positions from Djibouti, the capital?

[Kadamy] Our forces are 60 km from the capital. They can enter it within a matter of hours after the zero hour is announced. [passage omitted]

[Dahli] What about the sea routes?

[Kadamy] Our forces control the water strip overlooking the approach to the strait of Bab el Mandeb, which extends from the port of Malhalah to the north right to Obock to the south. [passage omitted]

[Dahli] What are the results of the French forces' deployment?

[Kadamy] Our units stopped their military activities after the French forces' deployment, whereas the Djibouti Government exploited the cease-fire to strengthen its army in terms of numbers and equipment.

[Dahli] Does that mean that the balance of power is now in the government's favor?

[Kadamy] No.

[Dahli] Why?

[Kadamy] For several reasons, most importantly that the government forces stationed on the combat fronts are comprised of Ethiopian Issa mercenaries, pilots who served under former Ethiopian President Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, some officers from the Somali al-Hawiyah tribe from among the supporters of interim Somali President Ali Mahdi Muhammad, a number of Polish mercenaries, and a number of Somali Issa elements. The common denominator among all these is the money spent on them by President Gouled's regime to safeguard power. Some time ago we saw severe fighting break out in government camps on the frontline, which proves that, no matter what modern weapons that army is equipped with, it cannot stand fast before our units, because its internal unity is weak. [passage omitted]

[Dahli] How many government prisoners are you holding?

[Kadamy] We have about 200 military prisoners.

[Dahli] Do you intend to free them, just as the government freed your prisoners last Tuesday?

[Kadamy] The government has not freed all our prisoners. Four of our front's members are still in prison, and those who have been freed are not allowed to leave the capital. They are under judicial supervision. We will not release any prisoners before the end of the war, because they could return to the combat front, either voluntarily or by force. [passage omitted]

[Dahli] It was reported that Sanaa provided aid to you and continues to so.

[Kadamy] The position of the Yemeni Government and people is gallant and noble and deserves the Djibouti people's appreciation. We know that Djibouti Prime Minister Barkat Gourad Hamadou and Foreign Minister Moumin Bahdon tried hard to persuade Yemeni officials to close the sea route to the humanitarian aid heading for the north of the country, albeit in vain. The Yemeni leadership knows that the innocent people in the liberated areas are in urgent need of food and medical supplies. Dr. 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Dali, Yemeni minister of state for foreign affairs, led a serious political initiative to contain the Djibouti crisis but, regrettably, President Gouled's government, which is absorbed in the logic of war, nipped it in the bud.

[Dahli] Does that mean that war is your only option?

[Kadamy] We announced three unilateral cease-fires to give peaceful solutions a chance. We will not resort to the military option if there is a glimmer of hope of finding a political way out of the crisis, which could lead the country into an abyss.

Kenya

Moi Receives Message From Libyan Envoy on Ties

EA0807212692 Nairobi KNA in English 1735 GMT
8 Jul 92

[Text] Nairobi, 8 Jul (KNA)—His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today received a special message from the Libyan President Colonel Mu'ammur al-Qadhafi with a view to establishing diplomatic relations with their country.

The message was delivered by a special envoy at State House Nairobi.

Manufacturing Chief on Ties With South Africa

EA0807200092 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1600 GMT 7 Jul 92

[Text] The Kenya Association of Manufacturers chief executive, John Kuria, has said his association would welcome South African entrepreneurs into Kenya if they came to invest in the country, but not to look for markets for their products. Talking to KTN today, Kuria noted

that investing in Kenya would give South African entrepreneurs a better long-term business base while at the same time benefiting Kenya in employment creation, as well as general expansion of the economy.

Over 160 South African companies have just concluded a successful five-day trade exhibition in Nairobi, which was not only the biggest of its kind to be held in Nairobi, but also South Africa's biggest trade fair anywhere else in the world.

The organizer of the exhibition, David Altman, said at the beginning of the exhibition that South African companies intended to establish their presence in Kenya to compete with American, British, German, and Japanese companies which have dominated the local business scene for years.

Somalia

UN Accused of Favoring One Party to Conflict

*EA0807205592 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu
in Somali 1700 GMT 5 Jul 92*

[Excerpts] A report released today by SONNA says it is surprising that the United Nations, which is charged with the task of helping solve the problems and conflict in Somalia, has been at the forefront of bringing counterfeit money into the country. The SONNA report adds that on 1 June, a transport plane hired by the United Nations and painted with UN markings was seized at Jomo Kenyatta Airport in Nairobi, Kenya, and its three pilots detained. It emerged that the plane had brought counterfeit money into northern Mogadishu on 30 June. [passage omitted] The SONNA report added that the UN move to hire the plane for illegal flights was totally reprehensible, adding that the action was intended to hide from the world the illegal dispatch of counterfeit money to the Manifesto Group.

Transport planes hired by the United Nations have been used to bring in arms, illegal money, clothes, and other items for one of the parties to the conflict in Somalia. This state of affairs demonstrates that the United Nations and its representatives in Somalia are not neutral in Somali affairs. The SONNA report adds further that it had been known earlier that some of the UN officials using the aforementioned plane, had brought in military equipment, uniforms, and counterfeit to the northern part of Mogadishu.

Generally, the United Nations has been hiring old ships and aircraft and as a result, boats and ships carrying relief aid for Somalia sank at sea. The report concluded that the above mentioned matters have been published officially in the *KENYA TIMES*, which is printed in Nairobi.

Tanzania

President Holds Talks With Rwandan Premier

*EA0907111592 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania
Network in Swahili 1700 GMT 8 Jul 92*

[Text] Dar es Salaam—President Ali Hassan Mwinyi has commended the Rwandan Government for its efforts to resolve its political crises as well as the civil war and the refugee problem. President Mwinyi said this during discussions with the Rwandan prime minister, Dr. Dismas Nsengiyaremye, who went to State House in Dar es Salaam today to brief him on steps being taken by the Government of Rwanda to restore peace and harmony to the country.

The president said he was pleased with measures taken by the government to solve problems facing the country's refugees, who live in neighboring countries, by allowing those wishing to return home to do so without any objection whatsoever. The president assured the Rwandan leader that Tanzania was ready to participate fully in measures aimed at restoring peace in Rwanda, due to the close relations existing between the two states.

The meeting was attended by brother John Malecela, prime minister and first vice president, host to the Rwandan prime minister.

Mwinyi Comments on Multipartyism in Address

*EA0807195092 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania
Network in Swahili 1140 GMT 7 Jul 92*

[Address by President Ali Hassan Mwinyi marking Peasants Day in Mufindi on 7 July—live]

[Excerpts] Brother chairman of members of the cooperative unions, who is master of ceremonies on this occasion, brother government and party leaders of various levels, brother citizens: First of all, I thank the citizens of Mafinga district for being so patient. We arrived here at 1000 and it is now nearly 1500 and not a single person has left. [passage omitted]

Brother citizens, we are already in the era of change—that of multipartyism. On 5 July I said that many parties coming into existence is a matter of changing with the times. The CCM [Revolutionary Party of Tanzania] has not failed in its leadership of our country. As we know, it was the CCM which increased the number of schools in the country. Today, every village has a school. This is the result of what the CCM has done. Today over 3 million children attend primary schools. This is what the CCM has done. There are many secondary schools and that is also a CCM achievement. Two universities are already operating and another is being established. That is also a CCM achievement. It is the same CCM which increased the number of clinics to the extent that there is now one clinic for every 10,000 people. It is the same CCM that set up health centers so that areas having 50,000 people have a health center. It is also the CCM that arranged to

provide every district with a hospital—at least one hospital. It is the CCM which planned to provide each region with a hospital and to establish referral hospitals. We have three such hospitals and this is also a CCM achievement.

The CCM has also achieved other things in our country. Even those who assist us have said that the CCM is running the country like a welfare state. When a country's government provides free education, medical services, and water, such a country is called a welfare state. So, some important people abroad are saying that the CCM has turned Tanzania into a welfare state. Our response is yes and we do not regret it. [passage omitted]

But to keep up with the times, we need political changes. That is why the CCM has now allowed the existence of many parties in our country. Members of such parties are not enemies. We must not call them enemies. They

only want to compete with the CCM, so let us call them the CCM's competitors. And, as I said on 5 July: We welcome them wholeheartedly and with open arms. We shall meet them in the open.

Accordingly, citizens, you need not feel troubled about or fear the parties. Your main task is to consolidate your solidarity with the CCM. And the CCM is not afraid, for although 80 percent said in the referendum that they wanted one party, we said no. We must not give a few people a reason to say that the majority are oppressing us and pushing us around. If a child cries for a razor blade, give it to him: he will cut himself with it. You will see strangers approaching and be surprised, but do not jeer them. Let them form new parties. This has been fully accepted. We did so to move with the times. Many countries now have pluralism. We cannot afford to be alone in having only one party. [passage omitted]

De Klerk Urges ANC 'Restraint, Responsibility'

*MB0907075992 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0725 GMT 9 Jul 92*

[Text] Pretoria July 9 SAPA—President F. W. de Klerk on Thursday expressed the hope that the African National Congress [ANC] would show great restraint and responsibility in its response to the government's memorandum.

Addressing the media after talks with Cameroon's minister of energy [title as received], Mr Rene Owona, at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, Mr de Klerk said: "I'm not playing political games with the ANC.

"We are talking about the future of the youth of South Africa, and really I hope that the reaction of the ANC to my letter will show great restraint and responsibility because we are living in serious times".

Mr de Klerk was responding to ANC President Nelson Mandela's warning on Wednesday [8 July] night that the ANC would not return to Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] until the government had addressed the ANC's demands.

The government remained committed to negotiations—"our stance is and my deep belief is that we should not play games with regard to negotiations," Mr De Klerk said.

He added there was no alternative to negotiations.

"In the final analysis we will have to return to the negotiation table and there compromise and thrash out a new constitutional system with the principles on which we can build a stable South Africa.

"We are not writing a constitution for the ANC or the National Party," Mr De Klerk said.

The government was not negotiating a constitutional dispensation to last for five or 10 years.

"We are working for a new constitution which must withstand the stresses and strains of a period of a 100 years and 200 years. That is what I'm working for," Mr de Klerk said.

He rejected claims that the government was:

- involved in violence or the planning or instigation of violence;
- clinging to power; or,
- insisting on a white or any other minority veto.

"Those are three lies that are almost being repeated daily now," Mr de Klerk said. "They remain lies no matter how often they are repeated."

He said the government was awaiting the ANC's full and formal response to its memorandum and would then react more fully.

Mr de Klerk said he and Mr Owona had "short and extensive" talks revolving around the expansion of trade between South Africa and Cameroon, as well as the constitutional process in South Africa.

"Cameroon is also in the midst of a period of constitutional change and we can learn much from them," Mr De Klerk said.

He had received a message of "strong encouragement" from Cameroon President Paul Biya concerning the constitutional changes in South Africa, and looked forward to expanding relations with Cameroon.

Mr Owona said Mr Biya had sent him to South Africa to express the president's "full support" for Mr de Klerk in his endeavours to build a new society.

Botha Views Prospects of UN Goodwill Mission

*MB08071802 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1652 GMT 8 Jul 92*

[Text] Pretoria July 8 SAPA—The United Nations' goodwill mission to South Africa should take place before the envisaged meeting of the Security Council next week, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha suggested on Wednesday.

In a letter to UN Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali Mr Botha said the mission, led by former US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, would then be in a better position to advise Mr Butrus-Ghali and the Council on the factual situation in South Africa.

Mr Botha said this would facilitate a better informed discussion in the council.

Mr Botha said the members of a South African delegation to the Council meeting next week would be made known closer to the date.

Observers said in all probability Mr Botha would go himself.

In his letter to Mr Butrus-Ghali, Mr Botha said the South African Government welcomed the goodwill visit.

The government considered it of the "utmost importance that negotiations in the country should be resumed urgently and that the leaders of the main parties should jointly accept responsibility for further steps to curb violence".

Mr Botha reiterated that at least all parties participating in Convention for a Democratic SA [South Africa] (Codesa) should be heard if the Security Council was to be fully informed.

"Against this background I assume that they will be allowed to present their views to the Council," Mr Botha wrote.

Should a visit by the goodwill mission not be feasible before the Security Council meets in open session, the

South African Government would support a Council meeting to authorize Mr Butrus-Ghali to send a goodwill mission which would report to him, and through him, to the Council as soon as possible.

Mr Botha assumed the mission would consult all relevant parties, organisations and experts during its visit.

"It was my understanding from our telephone conversation that this was also your view."

Mr Botha also said: "In my opinion the Council will not be in a position to conduct a balanced debate on the situation in South Africa unless it has all the facts and points of view before it."

The telephone conversation, during which they discussed the goodwill mission, took place on Tuesday night.

Mandela on Government Involvement in Violence

MB0907060692 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 0500 GMT 9 Jul 92

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela has again accused the state president and the security forces of involvement in the violence in the country.

Addressing a gathering at Ennerdale near Johannesburg, Mr. Mandela said the ANC felt it was premature for the Goldstone Commission to say that there was no evidence of the involvement of President de Klerk and the security forces. Mr. Mandela said that in a number of cases, among them the murder of Matthew Goniwe, evidence of security force involvement had emerged only later.

The chairman of the commission, Mr. Justice Goldstone, said earlier this week that no proof could be found that President de Klerk or any other member of the cabinet or senior Defense Force or police officer was directly involved in the violence or the planning of violence.

Any fresh information, however, would be investigated thoroughly by the commission.

ANC Spokesman Comments

MB0907133792 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English 1100 GMT 9 Jul 92

[Text] African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela has repeated his charge that the South African state president, his government, and the country's security forces were responsible for the continuing factional violence in the country. Mr. Mandela's renewed accusation has come after the head of a judicial commission investigating the cause of the violence, Mr. Justice Richard Goldstone, has stated that no evidence had been received that (?supported) what he termed unfair and dangerous claims of top-level state involvement in actual violence. Lilian Strubach asked ANC liaison officer Carl Niehaus why Mr. Mandela had reiterated his accusation.

[Begin recording] [Niehaus] Mr. Mandela reiterated the charges of police complicity in the violence because we believe very strongly that the police have been involved over a long period of time in the violence, both by omission and commission, and we feel that this issue—the involvement of the police—and also the fact that police often don't act in accordance with what one would expect from a police force in South Africa and throughout the world, we need to repeat this issue time after time again, until they will change their behavior. [sentence as heard]

[Strubach] Many of the newspapers and other publications have been very critical of the ANC's charge against the state president and the security forces, and the one question they're all asking is what evidence does the ANC have for the charge.

[Niehaus] The evidence that we have is very clear: years and years of continuing violence; many times of us making requests to the state president to take the necessary action as the responsible person, as the leader of government, to bring an end to the violence. He has failed to do so, and because of that, he is involved in the violence by omission, not taking the necessary steps to prevent this violence from being (?probed).

[Strubach] Now, the Goldstone Commission recently said that there is no evidence of state involvement. Is this a no-confidence vote in the commission?

[Niehaus] We have said that we are not putting the no-confidence vote in the commission, but we are concerned that the commission makes such very strong conclusions about the situation in South Africa, without having heard all the evidence and without also taking into consideration the constraints of its own resources and the terms of reference that it has in order to come to the bottom of the violence problems in South Africa.

[Strubach] Are you saying that it was a little premature then?

[Niehaus] We say it is premature. We believe that there is more evidence necessary also to serve in front of the Goldstone Commission. At this stage the Goldstone Commission has received reports from different organizations. We hope that as time goes on, it will be possible to place further information, also, in front of the Goldstone Commission. But it must be understood that it is very difficult, within the structures that the Goldstone Commission is functioning, especially when it relies primarily on information being gathered by the police—that the community does not trust—to get that information in front of Mr. Justice Goldstone. [end recording]

Angolan Ties Not Affected by ANC Arms Issue

MB0807132992 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English 1100 GMT 8 Jul 92

[Text] The Foreign Affairs Department in Pretoria says South African relations with Angola will not be clouded

by revelations that the armed wing of the African National Congress [ANC] is maintaining significant arms caches in Angola. A British publication has quoted Joe Modise, the commander of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation], as saying that there is nothing sinister about the fact that arms were being stockpiled in Angola as they were not being used, following the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle. On the line at the moment we have the South Africa Foreign Affairs spokesman, Rafik Gangat.

[Begin recording] [Gangat] We've taken note of the statement by Mr. Modise and will again approach the Angolan authorities on this matter.

[Unidentified reporter] Does foreign affairs intend seeing the ANC about the matter as well?

[Gangat] Well we have a representative in Luanda and the obvious course of action would be we will speak to our representative, who would then speak to the Angolans and seek clarity on this matter.

[Reporter] We had the Angolan defense minister and Angolan people here some time back and we also had some of our personnel that side. This doesn't interfere with any of those operations, does it?

[Gangat] No it does not, I mean, we have a very healthy relationship with Angola at present and we are involved in the whole process there, that would ensure free and fair elections. [end recording]

COSATU on Business 'Threats' Against Workers

*MB0807170992 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1558 GMT 8 Jul 92*

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg July 8 SAPA—COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] hit back at business leaders on Wednesday and said it would not be bullied or intimidated on the issue of mass action.

Business leaders this week formally opposed the "rolling" mass action campaign of the African National Congress [ANC] and its allies, the SA [South African] Communist Party (SACP) and COSATU.

They warned that workers who participated in strikes would face disciplinary action.

"Instead of making threats against workers, big business should take a stand against the disastrous collision course that the present government has taken our country on by its insistence on white minority rule," COSATU Secretary General Jay Naidoo said in a statement to SAPA on Wednesday.

COSATU has called a general strike—expected to last about a week—from August 3 as part of the alliance campaign.

A business delegation, representing the SA Chamber of Commerce (SACOB), the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut [Afrikaans Trade Institute] (AHI) and the Steel and Engineering Industry Federation (SEIFSA), held top-level talks with the ANC, SACP and COSATU in Johannesburg on Tuesday.

They said mass action would result in further business closures and retrenchments, a "downward spiral" in the economy from which it would be extremely difficult to restore growth, a negative impact on local and overseas business confidence, and an increased potential for violence.

"COSATU is not going to be bullied or intimidated by those who want to suppress our right to fight for our freedom, peace and democracy," Mr Naidoo said.

COSATU was committed to a negotiated solution in the country, "but the government's intransigence in the negotiation process is making a mockery of any negotiations".

"Mass action is a strategy to unlock the political and economic logjam caused by the government's intransigence."

The economy was being destroyed by the unilateral and arbitrary decisions of the government, Mr Naidoo said.

He called on business leaders to instead pursue a programme of putting pressure on the government, whose proposals at the negotiating table, he said, were the "main obstacles to peace and democracy".

"A democratic solution would be the government's unambiguous agreement on majority rule."

Mr Naidoo said business leaders had in effect to decide whether they supported President F W de Klerk or "genuine democracy".

'Showdown' Looming

*MB0907082592 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0643 GMT 9 Jul 92*

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg July 9 SAPA—A showdown is looming between business and the African National Congress [ANC] and its alliance partners, the SA [South African] Communist Party [SACP] and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions], over mass action.

The success or otherwise of the "rolling" mass action campaign will greatly depend on nationwide industrial action, including strikes. This emerged in a series of interviews SAPA conducted with key players in the tripartite alliance this week.

However, business leaders this week formally opposed the campaign, and warned that workers who participated in strikes would face disciplinary action.

COSATU has called a general strike for August 3, expected to last between five and seven days, as part of the mass action campaign initiated after Codesa Two deadlocked in mid-May.

The breakdown in negotiations hit a new low when the ANC and its allies at Codesa pulled out of the process in anger over the Boipatong massacre of June 17. They submitted a list of 14 demands which they said the government had to meet before they would resume negotiations.

"This is a showdown," SACP Secretary General Chris Hani said this week, adding the ANC alliance should have used mass action at the same time it was locked in negotiations to put pressure on the government to accept majority rule as defined in Western countries.

"Now we have learnt our lessons..." Mr Hani said.

"The workers, to be very frank, are central in the mass action campaign because they are responsible for the operation of industry."

Ronnie Kasrils, senior ANC and SACP member, and head of ANC campaigns, said: "The ANC looks to the working people, to the working class, as their fundamental force for change."

"The ANC, without being a socialist party, has...identified the working class as a leading force, as the main force."

COSATU Secretary General Jay Naidoo said the aim of the mass action campaign was two-fold:

- "breaking the political deadlock in relation to the government agreeing to majority rule; and
- "agreeing to controls over the security forces to ensure that they act in an impartial manner against the outbreaks of violence."

He blamed the government for the "very rapid" decline in the economy.

"Our only conclusion is that we have to take the type of actions that bring pressure on the government to agree to democratic rule."

The country was on the brink of a national disaster, Mr Naidoo warned.

"Unless every aspect of society acts decisively to break the logjam we are going to drift into total anarchy, and possibly even civil war."

He called for a general election for a constituent assembly by December.

"What we want is not just what the members of COSATU want, it's what the country wants. The majority of the people in this country want to have democracy. Democracy means having a general election where people decide who their representatives are."

Mr Hani added: "We say to the international community: Come, draw up the rules, make all the parties in this country have a common understanding of democracy ... one which is universally known and acclaimed."

"We're not going to stop until there is a clear commitment to majority rule, so we can have elections and the party which wins is allowed to rule without any artificial mechanisms."

Mr Hani predicted the general strike would run for between five and seven days.

Nationwide industrial action would not only impact on the South African economy, it would also have international ramifications. "It is going to affect the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, it is bound to affect the price of gold. It is going to affect the operations of the multinational companies which are very active in South Africa."

Business leaders said a general strike would cost South Africa about R[and]250-million a day, and cause serious economic damage.

A business delegation, representing the SA Chamber of Commerce (SACOB), the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut [Afrikaans Trade Institute] (AHI) and the Steel and Engineering Industry Federation (SEIFSA), warned the ANC alliance in top-level talks this week the mass action campaign would result in:

- further business closures and retrenchments;
- a "downward spiral" in the economy from which it would be extremely difficult to restore growth;
- a negative impact on local and overseas business confidence; and
- an increased potential for violence.

However, the ANC alliance, while admitting their campaign would hurt the economy, said it was necessary so as to get the government to move from their present negotiating positions.

The alliance also said the business community's commitment to democracy would be judged by its approach to mass action.

"There is no neutrality in the struggle for democracy, and big business will have to pay a price if it wants to be neutral," Mr Hani said.

"The workers are watching them, and we are not going to forget their attitude when we become a new government."

Mr Hani said the general strike would not be the end of the mass action campaign.

"We'll have to sit down after the general strike and work out the next step if our demands are not met."

He said the alliance would be misleading the people if they gave the impression that the general strike would bring final victory.

Mr Kasrils echoed the sentiment.

Buthelezi Sees ANC Split Between Hawks, Doves
MB0907090592 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2123 GMT 8 Jul 92

[Text] Ulundi July 8 SAPA—KwaZulu chief minister and Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] President Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Wednesday described the African National Congress [ANC] as "a strange mixture of the utterly cynical and the stupidly naive".

Addressing a police passing-out parade at Ulundi, he said that when the ANC destroyed parts of the economy to exert political pressure, it proved to be "monstrously cynical", and when it believed the SA [South African] Government would simply surrender to shows of force, then it was "childishly naive".

"But the cardinal sin of the ANC is its arrogance and its pretense that it represents the nation," he said.

"Various political parties fight for the rights of elements of the nation. No one party represents all the nation, and not even all the parties represent all the nation.

"The Chinese community in South Africa has not a single political representative anywhere. If the whole nation is not represented even by all the parties combined, then by what right does one party—the ANC—presume to represent the national interest?" He asked.

Chief Buthelezi said the truth was that the political parties represented larger or smaller groups of citizens. A communist was a citizen just as a racist was, and though their views were fundamentally at odds with what was ideal and real, they also had their rights to liberty as citizens.

The ANC wanted to infringe those liberties. What was worse was that the ANC wanted to bulldoze other people's wishes, preferences and options just as the National Party and SA Government of old had done.

"When it (the ANC) leaves Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], it says it does so in the public interest. That is a lie. The public interest is served by negotiation and a commitment to compromise from all sides.

"If the ANC expected the SA Government to simply surrender, then it has totally misread history and has instead swallowed its own propaganda. If the ANC expected government surrender, no wonder it saw government intransigence instead."

Chief Buthelezi said when the ANC/SACP [South African Communist Party]/COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] alliance took to the streets and forced showdowns and played at brinkmanship rather than statemanship, it showed that the ANC was splitting into two parts, the hawks and the doves, and that the hawks were winning.

"It is not the interests of the nation which are served when negotiations are aborted and civil war is threatened, but the interests of the ANC military wing.

"Boipatong was a tragedy in more ways than we know. It is a tragedy in that it gave the (ANC) military wing the chance it had prayed for to stop Codesa and to stop the political progress of the ANC's negotiators," he said.

PAC's Moseneke Outlines Position on Negotiations
MB0807153292 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English
8 Jul 92 p 8

[Article by Dikgang Moseneke, Pan-Africanist Congress deputy president: "Focus on Talks"]

[Text] Allowing for under counting in the ill-advised 1991 census, our population is presently in the order of 40 million.

The last all-white referendum has made it clear that we are now operating under the rule of not more than five percent of the population.

This statistic underscores the diminutive base of political control in our land and emphasises the fundamental political and socio-economic contradiction and tension at all levels of our society.

Our colonial and exploitative heritage has unremittably ensured the political powerlessness of over 80 percent of our people and led to gross social malformations and obscene economic disparities.

A few graphic statistics more than make the point:

- Less than five percent of the total capital assets are owned by Africans.
- 87 percent of our land is white-owned or controlled.
- About 7-9 million of our people live in shacks as so-called squatters.
- About 5-7 million Africans are presently unemployed.
- Fifty percent of African babies die before they reach the age of five.

Flowing from the foregoing, the position of the Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] is informed by the following broad considerations:

- The immediate task of the broad liberation movement in the current face of struggle is the transfer of political power to a nonracial, democratic majority.
- The only legitimate and democratic forum for such transfer of power and the creation of a new constitution is a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one person, one vote, and the common voters roll in a unitary State.
- The present regime cannot be and is not the agent of democratic change: the masses of our people are.

—The Pan-Africanist Congress is not opposed in principle to resolving the legitimate struggle for democracy and national liberation and democracy through the mechanism of negotiations.

—Such negotiations must take place in a democratic forum with participants having a national mandate.

—The mechanism through which such a national mandate must be obtained is the constituent assembly.

—The formation of a broad democratic front constitutes a crucial element in the power of the broad liberation movement for these tasks.

Our stand on and criticism of Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] is well known.

In the wake of the failure of Codesa, the PAC has been vindicated in its assertion that Codesa is a kaleidoscope of political intrigue.

It has now become abundantly clear that the minority regime has not been negotiating in good faith to create a genuine democracy and thus is not prepared to relinquish power.

A double agenda has come to the fore which entails, on the one hand, the strengthening of its ruling power base and on the other, weakening the overall position of the liberation movement.

Consequently the PAC reiterates the following:

1. Democratic elections for a constituent assembly to draw up a new democratic constitution must be held without delay.
2. The regime must beforehand concede that the only legitimate and democratic forum for transfer of power and the creation of a new constitution is a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one person, one vote and the common voters' roll in the unitary State, the delegates thereto having been elected by proportional representation.
3. A new restructured forum, free from the defects of Codesa, should be convened in order to help with negotiations in good faith and with the primary purpose of transferring power to a democratic majority.
4. The new forum should have three primary agenda items, being determining the modalities towards the formation of a constituent assembly, in particular the holding of the elections to that end, agreements on the creation of a transitional authority and agreements on the role of the international community.
5. The participants to such a forum should be parties and organisations within or supportive of the regime on the one hand and the representatives of the liberation movement on the other.
6. Negotiating forums should be convened and chaired by neutral and independent facilitators and mediators.

ANC's 'Mixed Signals' Said Confusing Analysts

LD0707185092 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
6 Jul 92 p 8

[Article by Hugh Robertson: "ANC's Mixed Messages"]

[Text] Like aficionados of the daily crossword puzzle, Africanists in Washington's thinktanks, private foundations and multinational companies sit down each day and try to make sense of the maddeningly elusive clues from the ANC [African National Congress] that may, or may not, point to its current thinking.

The right answers, or what seem like the right answers, are energetically pursued and there are frequent exchanges of information, views and gossip. But rarely, if ever, does the private sector come up with a completed puzzle and it is widely believed that the same frustration afflicts those in the corridors of power.

Perhaps the problem lies in the fact that the ANC is run by a committee, with sometimes disparate forces seeking to shape its policies. Or it may be that the organisation's doings and sayings are analysed to the point of absurdity.

Either way, the ANC remains an enigma in the United States. While Americans readily accept its accusations of complicity by present or past members of the security forces in the Boipatong atrocity, they are stumped by the ANC's subsequent actions. But stumped though they may be, they have pencilled in some answers on the crossword grid—and some of them are answers that, one hopes, the ANC will be quick to deny.

The State Department, for instance, implicitly interpreted the ANC's withdrawal from talks with the Government, and from Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], as a victory for those murky forces in South Africa that are determined to wreck the negotiating process.

It is argued that there can be no mystery about the objective of those who oppose Codesa. Such groups have said time and again they will resist moves towards full democracy with all the force they can muster. Thus, the reasoning goes on, irrespective of whether or not past or present security force members were involved in Boipatong, the intention of the massacre probably was to wreck the negotiating process.

This reasoning is given momentum by the timing of the Boipatong killings—at the critical point where the ANC was already threatening to change from negotiations to mass action because of its deadlock with the Government on the issue of minority protection in a new constitution. The massacre, thus, was seen as a deliberate outrage aimed at pushing the ANC over the brink.

But to accept this rationale, some cognoscenti point out, one must first conclude that the ANC is astonishingly naive and easily manipulated. Why else would they allow

themselves to be induced to do precisely what the opponents of Codesa and of a new South Africa would want them to?

It is at this point that some thinktank analysts differ from the conclusion that the ANC merely did what the powers of evil manipulated them into doing.

They began, instead, with the assumption that the ANC is not easily pushed around and that its history has shown it to have as much capacity for ruthlessness as any other political organisation.

Armed with the knowledge that the ANC decided well before Boipatong to play its only trump card—its ability to mount mass action—a different and more sinister scenario is advanced.

It starts with the widely held belief in the U.S. that mass action probably would be doomed to fail after an initial, short burst of enthusiasm. Having failed to achieve its objective—changing the Government's mind on minority protection—the ANC would be humiliated and discredited and its most powerful weapon would be shown up as a paper tiger.

Furthermore, as some Washington analysts have argued, it would be difficult to defend mass action merely as a device with which to influence an opponent in negotiations. That smacks more than faintly of mob rule, of a willingness to sacrifice talks for a more muscular and bullying approach to the problems of the country.

So, the argument proceeds, the decision to seize upon Boipatong as the reason for breaking off negotiations with the Government, rather than the deadlock over minority protection, was an astute decision aimed at sanctifying mass action on the one hand, and utilising the emotional build-up of the moment to give it momentum.

Was the ANC that cynical? And is there not a perfectly reasonable explanation for its Codesa decision—that it has in its ranks impatient young people, many badly educated and with an incomplete grasp of the complexities of negotiations, who can see no further than the horror and bloodshed of the moment? Or, perhaps, that there was indeed reason for anger at President de Klerk's inept handling of the security situation?

Americans have no illusions about the malevolent forces at work in South Africa, and they are more than amenable to the ANC's allegations of a conspiracy. Like many South Africans, they are appalled by the inability of the police to end the violence.

But if the ANC sends out mixed signals—that it wants mass action and an end to talks because of the deadlock in Codesa but then instead, because of Boipatong that it wants to end negotiations but remains committed to the negotiating process, that it can exchange letters and insults with the Government but needs the United Nations to get negotiations back on track—it cannot blame Americans for being confused.

And its current rhetoric is not enough to refute the theorists who suggest that what is happening might all be part of a political exercise aimed not at expressing outrage so much as weakening Mr de Klerk's position in Codesa and eroding Government insistence on minority protection.

If the police themselves bring the perpetrators of Boipatong to justice and Mr de Klerk accepts the presence of foreign fact-finders and observers, the ANC would be hard-pressed to convince Americans that there is good reason for not negotiating. As it is, there is little sympathy here for mass action when reasonable alternatives are on hand.

9 Jul Press Review on Current Events, Issues

MB0907135692

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

ANC Misuses Violence for Political Gain—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 7 July in its page 6 editorial asserts that the African National Congress, ANC, "misused the violence for political gain, convincing Vaal Triangle residents that the State President and his government were involved in the killings at Boipatong." THE CITIZEN hopes foreign governments will "now appreciate the depths to which the ANC has sunk in its propaganda campaign."

Mass Action May Result in 'Massive Explosion' of Violence—The members of the ANC alliance behind mass action "rather fancy themselves as being on a par with the forces in Eastern Europe that won their freedom, only, ironically, they were fighting Communist regimes," notes the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 8 July. "Here they are seeking to overthrow a reformist government." "We have only to look back on mass protests in the past to understand that when protest is organised on the mass scale envisaged, when acts of civil disobedience accompany acts of protest and defiance, the fuse is lit for a massive explosion."

THE STAR

Increase in Number of Violence Victims—The figures collated by the Human Rights Commission show that at the end of June, "1,806 people had died in political violence since January 1, an increase of 34 percent on the total for the first six months of last year," notes a page 14 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 9 July. More than a third of victims "were women and children." The violence "scourge must be tackled with a compelling sense of urgency."

BUSINESS DAY

Business Needs COSATU Support, Not Pressure—Helping to draw South Africa back from the "brink of its present crisis will call for far more from business than

high profile public meetings with the ANC or government, where the parties do little more than state positions and issue appeals," points out a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg **BUSINESS DAY** in English on 9 July. "By now COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] knows that the threat of a general strike will not help make friends and influence people in the business sector. And it is clear that some civic organisations realise that bond and rent boycotts could destroy many of the advances made by the majority of South Africans. That does not mean leaders of COSATU can easily reverse their present directions—pressures from frustrated supporters are too great." Nevertheless, if business is to help persuade government to become "more flexible and conciliatory," it will need "support, not pressure, from COSATU."

SOWETAN

Criticism of Intimidation of Hospital Workers—Johannesburg **SOWETAN** in English on 9 July in a page 10 editorial observes that the "horrific stories and pictures" of women being attacked because they do not want to participate in the hospital strike "are an ugly reflection on our society." "It is easy for the National Education Health and Allied Workers' Union to condemn the attacks and say that whoever is responsible is not in line with the union's policy. Much more should be done." Even though "poor wages are a violence against workers," "we should be big enough to allow for free choice."

CAPE TIMES

ANC Priority To Flex Political Muscle—Nelson Mandela's refusal to meet State President de Klerk "at this stage" is regretted by Cape Town **CAPE TIMES** in English on 6 July in a page 6 editorial. De Klerk's letter to Mandela "offers a reasonable basis for the resumption of bilateral talks about talks at least, paving the way for a resumption of broader-based discussions in due course." However, the ANC priority is to "flex its political muscles to consolidate its support base. So the country is in for a nervy time before negotiations are resumed."

TRANSVALER

ANC Responsible for Supporters' Actions—Johannesburg **TRANSVALER** in Afrikaans on 1 July declares in a page 6 editorial: "So many people have said they were forced—even at gunpoint—to attend the funeral of the Boipatong victims that the ANC alliance cannot even try to deny it. During the well-planned hysteria at least one person was murdered and others assaulted. There is also firm evidence that photographers and reporters were threatened and assaulted, and that people in the crowd were firing weapons into the air. For

this the ANC and its partners must accept responsibility, just as they insist the government must accept responsibility for the actions of every policeman, soldier, and official." "The gruesome intimidation of unwilling strikers is in itself a subject which could occupy an international commission of inquiry for a long time," the paper says, adding that "while the alliance is insisting on international commissions, a few such commissions can be invited to investigate these issues as well."

Arbitration on Hospital Strikes Necessary—A second editorial on the same page reads: "It would be very encouraging if the proposed arbitration in the hospital strike becomes a reality and this solution spreads to other strikes, even those still being threatened. No one in his right mind wants the already rampant unemployment to be aggravated by the dismissal of thousands more workers. Many of those who will lose their earnings are people forced by violent ringleaders into strike action." "While the trade unions are calling for arbitration, why can this method not be implemented before incalculable damage is done?"

De Klerk's Message Must Be Heeded—Johannesburg **TRANSVALER** in Afrikaans on 3 July says in its page 8 editorial: "If the ANC and other radical groups listened carefully to what State President F. W. de Klerk said last night in his television address to the nation, South Africa today will be a safer place than it was last week. President de Klerk had a message for Mr. Nelson Mandela's team and the rest of South Africa—political differences must be talked away; they cannot be shot away. The right wing can also take note. It is the desire of the majority of South Africans that the negotiations be resumed, including even some of the ANC alliance's most ardent supporters." "The question is whether everyone was listening, and whether the ANC side has the sense and the ability to put out the fuse they lit."

ANC Holds Sportsmen Hostage—A second editorial on the same page says: "The ANC is now using naked blackmail to try to force sports people to kneel before them. The organization should go jump in the lake with its armbands and banners. It is laughable that the organization should try to pretend that it wants to promote democracy while using sports as a hostage, and, with a figurative AK-47, forcing sportsmen to dance to its tune..." "Prescribing to sportsmen what slogans they must wear on their clothes, what they must say, and what must be printed on programs if they wish to compete internationally, is so undemocratic that even for the ANC this must be a new low point. To demand, in addition, that visiting teams visit Boipatong is an insult to South Africa's guests."

Angola

Prime Minister Views Relations With UNITA

MB0807164792 London BBC World Service
in English 1515 GMT 8 Jul 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] It is only a matter of weeks now before Angola's first multiparty general elections in September. Until last year's peace agreement, the country had been in the grip of civil war between the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] and National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] since independence in 1975. The peace process itself has been pretty well on schedule, though a series of clashes, ambushes, and other violent incidents seems to indicate that relations between the MPLA and UNITA are somewhat irritable, to put it mildly. Ofebea Quist-Arcton caught up with Angola's prime minister, Franca van Dunem, at the OAU summit in Dakar and asked him how he saw relations with UNITA.

[Begin recording] [Van Dunem] Well, you should not forget one thing: We are the government of the MPLA and UNITA is the opposition, like the other parties are the opposition. Of course, our relations are normal, taking into consideration what is happening now in our country. We are three months before the election and so there are minor incidents, but in general terms I must say that our relations are quite normal and even, in some cases, cordial because we respect each other.

[Quist-Arcton] But UNITA accuses the Angolan Government of foot-dragging and they say that you still have not released all prisoners, for example. That does not seem to me like good relations.

[Van Dunem] Well, I think that they should first answer the question to know why they do not liberate those people who are confined in the so-called Jamba. This is my reply to your question.

[Quist-Arcton] Is the electoral process actually on course? Is it on target in Angola? Do you feel that you, by September, you will be ready to hold elections that run smoothly?

[Van Dunem] I think so, in spite of the fact that there are some small delays, but we are (?optimistic) that we will hold elections on 29 and 30 September next.

[Quist-Arcton] Will the MPLA government win them?

[Van Dunem] I think so.

[Quist-Arcton] How can you be so sure?

[Van Dunem] I cannot be so sure, but I have said I think so. It is my opinion that we are going to win them.

[Quist-Arcton] If you come back to power as a democratically elected government, what are your main priorities going to be? The Angolan economy is not doing too

well; people have been suffering for years and years because of the civil war. What commitment will you be able to bring to the Angolan people?

[Van Dunem] First of all, to rebuild all the schools which have been destroyed by the UNITA forces, all the bridges, all the roads, all the hospitals, and, in general terms, to reconstruct our economy.

[Quist-Arcton] Do you have the money (?for all that)?

[Van Dunem] Well, the money will appear. After all, I think that sometimes it is not a question of money. It is a question of putting the brains of all the Angolans together, giving a hand to each other, and getting to work. [end recording]

UNITA Postpones Release of Jamba Prisoners

MB0807145992 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 8 Jul 92

[Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] has surprised the International Committee of the Red Cross team and denials have already been issued in the cities of Benguela and Lobito about what Engineer Salupeto Pena, UNITA representative to the Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM], described yesterday as a tense atmosphere. Those are the repercussions of Salupeto Pena's statement yesterday justifying postponing the release of prisoners from Jamba. The UNITA official justified it in the following manner:

[Begin Pena recording] First, there is (?tension) in the country. We are having problems in Lobito, Lubango, Soyo, and M'banza Congo. This is a [word indistinct] aspect. With regard to the report on the prisoners, the government had made certain promises in response to our demands but, according to information we have received, those promises have not fulfilled. That information reached us after the [word indistinct] more explanations are needed. That is what we are trying to do now, to try to overcome this deadlock. [end recording]

Deputy Interior Minister Fernando da Piedade Nando has said, however, that there is no link at all between the 20 prisoners who should have been released and the 450 prisoners UNITA now demands the government hand over.

[Begin Nando recording] These 20 prisoners should have been released during the first stage of the prisoner release process. This would have happened had UNITA respected the agreements. It was the UNITA president who, during a meeting with the president of the republic, undertook unconditionally to free those men. Turning to the list they have submitted now, that list should be added to the list they handed over when we exchanged our lists of prisoners. So there is no link at all.

They informed us yesterday about tension in the provinces. We are now waiting for them to prove those problems through the mechanisms which have been

created for these very purposes. We have the CCPM, the CMVF [Joint Verification and Control Commission], and the Police Verification and Control Groups, which can conduct on-site analyses of those problems, so that the truth can emerge. [end recording]

Report From Benguela

*MB0807154692 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 8 Jul 92*

[Text] Yesterday Salupeto Pena, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] representative in the Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM], reported what he described as a tense situation in the cities of Benguela, Lubango, and Soyo. The Benguela provincial government is expected to reply today. Our Benguela province correspondent Eduardo Feliciano reports:

[Begin Feliciano recording] Contrary to UNITA's claims, the Benguela Provincial Government is unaware of any tension in the Lobito commercial harbor that could hinder the release of prisoners. A source in the provincial government told Radio Angola's Benguela branch this morning that there can be no link between a political issue and what is principally a labor issue arising from the suspension of 12 workers who have been accused of acts of physical aggression against harbor management members, in the wake of which work at the harbor was stopped.

The Benguela Provincial Government is expected to comment officially today on the situation in Lobito Harbor, following Engineer Salupeto Pena's statement yesterday. It is known, however, that the criminal investigation police have already (interviewed) the director of Lobito harbor and other workers, in the wake of aggressive behavior by UNITA sympathizers working in Lobito harbor.

In turn, UNITA has sent a letter full of accusations to Lobito commercial harbor director Jose Carlos Gomes demanding he respond to the accusations this week. Director Jose Gomes refused to comment on the contents of the letter, but he disclosed that its tone was rather threatening. [end recording]

MPLA, PDA React

*MB0907053892 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 8 Jul 92*

[Text] Certain political parties have publicly stated their position regarding the issue of the prisoners. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] describes the behavior of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola as thoughtless and ridiculous, adding it contradicted itself within a very short 24 hours. In a communique, the MPLA warns the Angolan Government about what it calls UNITA's arrogance and thoughtless behavior and asks for redoubled efforts to secure the release of all prisoners in Jamba.

In turn, the Angolan Democratic Party [PDA] blames UNITA and the MPLA alike for continuing to hold prisoners in Jamba. The following are excerpts of PDA President Dr. Alberto Neto's statement:

[Begin Neto recording] The PDA believes this new situation caused by the failure on both sides to hand over war prisoners is in stark contrast with the words and decisions expressed by the leaders of the two armed parties. There is repression in the jails and people are disappearing. The People's Air Force of Angola Air Defense [FAPA-DAA] officers are still suffering in detention in Jamba. By the same token, there are UNITA elements still languishing in government jails or concentration camps. We believe the Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM] has no moral force, because it has failed to instill a democratic vision about the various problems facing our country. [end recording]

PDA President Dr. Alberto Neto presented no evidence to support the view that the Angolan Government is still holding prisoners.

Mozambique

Government, Renamo Continue Rome Peace Talks

Military Delegations To Meet

*MB0907102992 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 0800 GMT 9 Jul 92*

[Text] The government and the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] military delegations to the peace talks in Rome will hold their first face-to-face meeting today, without the presence of the mediators or official observers. The two delegations, each consisting of six members, are led by Army Commander Lieutenant General Tobias Dai and Renamo's Major General Herminio Moraes.

This first meeting between the two military representatives follows a meeting held yesterday between the two parties and military representatives from the five observer countries, that is the United States, France, Italy, Portugal, and the United Kingdom, as well as UN representative Colonel Figueiredo.

Journalist Tomas Vieira Mario reports from Rome that sources close to the Mozambican peace process in the Italian capital say this meeting is viewed as encouraging inasmuch as the two parties unexpectedly agreed to meet alone with a view to deepening mutual understanding to establish a better working environment.

Proposals Outlined

*MB0907145392 Maputo Radio Maputo in English
1100 GMT 9 Jul 92*

[Text] The Mozambican Government and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] delegations to the peace negotiations in Rome are meeting today with the

Italian Government and Catholic Church mediators and the official observers to discuss the method of organizing working groups which will discuss specific issues related to the formation of a new nonparty Mozambican army.

These working groups should include members of the military subdelegations from both the government and Renamo and military personnel from the United Nations and the four observer countries—the United States, Britain, France, and Portugal. A plenary session of talks was held yesterday during which the two sides gave mutual clarifications about their radically different proposals on the new national army.

The mediators are optimistic that a dialogue over these questions is advancing more dynamically than was the case with debates in previous rounds. The Italian Government mediator Mario Raffaelli thinks that an agreement on the composition of the future Mozambican Armed Forces may be reached early. He said the two sides had agreed [words indistinct] aspects, mainly that the future army will be composed by members from both existing Armed Forces and from Renamo and that it would be under a joint command to ensure political neutrality during the transition period to general elections.

As to the differences between the two sides, Mr. Raffaelli would only confirm that Renamo wants an army of 15,000 men while the government suggests a 50,000-strong army. He said there had not yet been any formal proposal on such matters as garrisoning the forces of the two sides (or) the demobilization of surplus troops. But Renamo has already made public its position that there should be no garrisoning because of the difficulty in ensuring efficient logistical support for all the garrisons concerned. But the government argues that a process restricting the troops to barracks would be absolutely essential in the demobilization process, particularly since it would allow a better identification and the elimination of armed groups that are outside the command either of the government or of Renamo.

Chissano Invites U.S. Financiers To Invest

MB0807193792 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 8 Jul 92

[Text] Continuing his private visit to the United States, President Joaquim Chissano had a working luncheon with journalists, including members of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, in New York this morning. Our New York correspondent reports that after giving a brief

account of the country's political and economic situation, President Chissano invited U.S. financiers to invest in Mozambique. Chissano told the newsmen that Mozambique has a lot to offer in the field of investments, in view of its natural resources and geographic position. The Mozambican head of state mentioned the untapped natural resources and Mozambique's ports which serve the hinterland. He said that foreigners are welcome in Mozambique.

Zimbabwe

Parliamentarians Attack Mugabe's Cabinet Reshuffle

MB0907100892 Johannesburg SABA in English 0136 GMT 9 Jul 92

[Text] Harare July 8 SABA—Zimbabwean parliamentarians on Wednesday [8 July] attacked aspects of President Robert Mugabe's recent cabinet reshuffle, particularly questioning the role of the newly-created Ministry of National Affairs and Employment Creation and Co-Operatives.

The ministry is headed by Didymus Mutasa, former senior minister of the abolished political affairs ministry, the ZIANA national news agency reported.

At least two MPs said the reshuffle did not do much to trim government and cut expenditure in line with the country's economic structural adjustment programme.

Mutare South MP Lazarus Nzarayebani said more "useless" ministries should have gone.

"We have to mobilise the little money we have to service our deficit (rather) than to maintain useless ministries: political affairs, national affairs, job creation etc..." said Nzarayebani in a debate on President Mugabe's address at the opening of parliament.

He called on government to listen to advice of such organisations as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund on cost-cutting.

Makokoba MP Sidney Malunga said the reshuffle was a step in the right direction, but was fraught with weaknesses.

He said there appeared to be a non-fulfilment of promises, including a reduction in government spending by avoiding duplication of duties.

Mr Malunga said there were too many familiar faces in the new cabinet, which had angered his constituents.

Ghana**Rawlings, South African PAC Leader Hold Talks**

AB0907103092 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 8 Jul 92

[Text] The chairman of the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council], Flight Lieutenant Rawlings, has held discussions with the president of the Pan-Africanist Congress, PAC, Mr. Clarence Makweto, at the Castle, Osu. At the meeting were the secretary for foreign affairs, Dr. Obed Asamoah, and the PAC secretary for foreign affairs, Mr. Gora Ibrahim. For the story, here is Teye-Kitcher.

[Teye-Kitcher] According to Mr. Makweto, the purpose of his visit to Ghana is to brief Chairman Rawlings and other government officials on developments in South Africa. He said the PAC subscribes to the belief of Ghana's first president, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, on continental unity for Africa. Mr. Makweto told newsmen in an interview that the PAC is worried about the violence in South Africa and the disunity of the antiapartheid forces. He said peace will be an illusion in South Africa so far as the De Klerk regime denies the people democracy. Mr. Makweto emphasized that the PAC never became part of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, Codesa, because the Convention was not intended for peace. He outlined the PAC's alternative to Codesa.

[Begin recording] (?An) alternative to Codesa was put forward by PAC, and we have been hammering this for years, that in order to establish a new constitution—and on that there should be an agreed policy, including De Klerk—that [words indistinct] a new constitution. A decision has to bring about that constitution that we should give ourselves, and [words indistinct] are determined in the form of a constituent assembly based on one person, one vote, in a common voters' [word indistinct]. That is the alternative to Codesa. [end recording]

Mr. Makweto said he is confident that if the liberation movements in South Africa come together, they will be able to persuade the apartheid regime to democratize the country. The secretary for foreign affairs of the PAC, Mr. Gora Ibrahim, said he is hopeful that within two months a patriotic united front, which was formed last October by the PAC in collaboration with other antiapartheid movements, will be reconvened to try and bring about unity within the ranks of the antiapartheid forces.

The PAC delegation leaves for home this evening instead of its projected five-day stay.

Guinea**Iranian Mines Minister Visits for Talks**

LD0807174892 Tehran IRNA in English 1402 GMT 8 Jul 92

[Text] Tehran, July 8, IRNA—Iran's Minister of Mines and Metals Mohammad Hoseyn Mahluji inaugurated Iran-Guinea joint economic commission in Conakry today.

Mahluji who arrived in Conakry on Sunday held talks with Guinean ministers of foreign affairs, natural resources and the environment, trade, transportation and public works, industry, trade and crafts on promotion of eco-political relations.

The two sides studied ways to hold trade fairs in the two countries' capitals as well as the Islamic Republic of Iran's plan to make use of Guinean bauxite reserves to produce aluminium.

Liberia**Sawyer Meets With ULIMO, Calls For Disarmament**

AB0807125092 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 8 Jul 92

[Excerpt] President Amos Sawyer has again called on all warring factions to disarm immediately under the supervision of ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group]. At a meeting with visiting officials of the United Liberation Movement for Democracy, ULIMO, held yesterday at the Executive Mansion, President Sawyer emphasized that immediate disarmament will afford the Liberian people the opportunity to freely and democratically choose their own leaders and live together in peace and security.

During the meeting, which lasted for more than two hours, the ULIMO officials explained that their visit to Monrovia had a threefold purpose. First, they came to attend to the funeral of the late General Albert Karpeh, a founding executive member of ULIMO, who was killed recently by gunmen in Sierra Leone. The ULIMO officials further explained that they were also in Monrovia to sympathize with ECOMOG for the murder of six soldiers of ECOMOG by the National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL] and to explain the aims and objectives of ULIMO.

The ULIMO officials used the meeting [words indistinct] their support for the ECOWAS peace plan and for the Interim Government of Liberia. They also explained that ULIMO was a nonreligious and nontribal liberation movement consisting of Liberians whose primary objective was to put political pressure on the NPFL leader, Charles Taylor, to force him to abide by the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] peace plan. The ULIMO officials expressed their readiness for a simultaneous disarmament along with all the warring factions in keeping with the Yamoussoukro and Geneva accords.

Yesterday's meeting was attended by the minister of state for presidential affairs, Dr. Joseph Guannu; the minister of internal affairs, Mr. Thomas Ibrahima; and the acting minister of defense, Mr. (Alexander Gray). [passage omitted]

Ministry To Curb Illegal Business in NPFL Areas

AB0907110092 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English
0900 GMT 9 Jul 92

[Text] The Ministry of Justice says it is taking steps immediately to curb illegal business transactions in NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia]-held areas. Persons and business organizations dealing in minerals and other natural resources in areas held by the NPFL are to be taken to court.

The release yesterday said the Justice Ministry is to immediately begin legal proceedings against persons and businesses engaged in the removal and exportation of the country's resources without the approval of the Government of Liberia. The ministry says this kind of action deprives the government of taxes and other fees, adding that such an act is punishable under the laws of this country.

According to the release, the intent of these persons and businesses is to finance the war machinery of people whose objective is to hold the Liberian people hostage. Therefore, the ministry will not hesitate to pursue all courses available to ensure that the exportation fees and funds generated from these illegal transactions will be returned to the nation and people, the release said. The release noted that the Justice Ministry is prepared to pursue its suits and [word indistinct] with confidence that this policy is to ensure full accountability of persons who dared to deal illegally in public resources.

Meanwhile, the ministry has ordered all persons and businesses in NPFL-held areas to immediately cease all illegal dealings in the nation's resources or face the full consequences of their acts.

Senegalese Troops Ordered To Withdraw

AB0807121592 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English
0900 GMT 8 Jul 92

[Text] The West African peacekeeping force, ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group], has ordered the withdrawal of the Senegalese 2d Battalion deployed in Congo Town, in Bombo Junction, in Grand Cape Mount County. This comes in the wake of renewed hostilities between the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] and ULIMO [United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia] forces in the area.

According to a release, ECOMOG field commander Major General Ishaya Bakut noted that such an urgent move was necessary to avoid ECOMOG's being compromised by either side. The Senegalese 2d Battalion, he said, are being redeployed at Dabu to join their colleagues in the (?Keyo) area, also [words indistinct] by ECOMOG contingents to urge the NPFL to cooperate to set up the buffer zone.

Attack in Monrovia; ULIMO To Continue Fighting

AB0907101592 Paris AFP in English 1548 GMT
8 Jul 92

[Excerpt] Monrovia, July 8 (AFP)—Troops of a West African peace-keeping force, ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group], have arrested seven suspects in a grenade attack in the Liberian capital which injured six people, police said here Wednesday. The police said the latest attack took place before dawn Tuesday [7 July] on a street in Monrovia's redlight district.

This brings to 11 the number of grenade attacks in the Liberian capital since the beginning of this year, killing nine people and injuring scores of others. Twenty people were wounded in similar attacks at the weekend.

In another development, a Liberian rebel group has vowed to keep up its fight against rival Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) until his movement can agree to disarm, a local daily reported.

Taylor controls most of Liberia outside the capital, where the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) sent troops in 1990 to back the interim government of Amos Sawyer.

Joseph Taybior of the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO) said "the only language Taylor understands is violence," according to the independent paper THE NEWS. He said ULIMO will continue to fight him until his guerrillas surrender to ECOMOG. "Taylor likes the sound of bazookas, AKs and M-16s, and we are prepared to play that music for him," Taybior said.

The Sierra Leone-based ULIMO and the NPFL have been engaged in sporadic clashes at the border between Liberia and Sierra Leone since last year October. [passage omitted]

Niger

HCR Meets on Decision To Recognize Taiwan

AB0807134092 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network
in French 1200 GMT 7 Jul 92

[Speech by Professor Andre Salifou, chairman of the High Council of the Republic, HCR, at the opening of the extraordinary session of the HCR in Niamey on 7 July—recorded]

[Text] The Niger plane which has been passing through a zone of turbulence seems to be caught in a violent storm today. The pilot made a certain number of errors and mistakes at the beginning, mistakes which accumulated over the months. Among them is one extremely serious one. It is Prime Minister Amadou Cheiffou's decision to recognize the Republic of Taiwan on Friday, 19 June.

Regarding this affair, we would like to remind the nation once again that the High Council of the Republic was not consulted on this issue in any way, nor did our institution take part in the talks that resulted in the decision to recognize Taiwan. In other words, today, in the Formosa affair, as in other issues yesterday, the HCR was faced with a fait accompli. But as keepers of the decisions of the sovereign national conference, the members of the HCR are in the right position to know that the prime minister, by recognizing Taiwan, violated Article 4 Act 21 on the organization of the administration during the transition. Indeed, this article says: The president of the Republic will appoint ambassadors and envoys extraordinary to foreign powers at the proposal of the transitional government. The ambassadors and envoys extraordinary will be accredited by the president of the Republic.

The prime minister cannot even justify his decision by the fact that the sovereign national conference expressly asked the transitional government to launch a real diplomatic offensive concerning our foreign policy. Indeed, far more than a diplomatic offensive, the recognition of Taiwan is not only a fundamental reorientation of our diplomacy, but also a violation of Act 3 of the sovereign national conference, which proclaims the attributes of the sovereignty of the national conference. Article 5 of this act says: Previous regularly ratified international commitments will be respected. One of our country's commitments is the one made in 1974 with mainland China after we had broken our diplomatic relations with Taiwan. Through this same act, Niamey not only considered Taipei as the capital of a province but as an integral part of Beijing-China.

In any case, the decision to recognize Formosa created an uproar among Niger students and several important political parties. The HCR itself held a plenary session on Monday, 22 June and acknowledged that the need for ready money, according to an expression dear to the prime minister, cannot and must not in any case serve as justification for the transitional government's decisions. Above all, although a poor country, Niger must learn to safeguard its only remaining wealth—its dignity.

In short, the HCR gave the prime minister 48 hours to reconsider his decision. If at the end of this deadline nothing was done, the HCR would examine the situation and make its own opinion on the issue known to the nation. In this regard, we would like to say that if the HCR had decided not to make its stand on the Taiwan affair public immediately, it was only in order not to jeopardize its relations with the executive.

When he was informed about the HCR's decision, the prime minister gave the HCR members more information on the reasons for his decision a few minutes after holding private discussions with the HCR chairman. After his speech, the prime minister expressed the hope that even if he did not reconsider his stand, the HCR would not make any decision likely to disturb his working visit to France the following day. After his departure, the HCR resumed its debates on the Taiwan issue and very rapidly confirmed its initial decision, that of not recognizing Formosa. Nevertheless, the HCR heeded the prime minister's wish and promised not to make any statement before Saturday, 27 June. As everyone knows, this commitment was scrupulously respected, and on that very 27 June, after the prime minister's return to Niamey, bearing in mind the opinion of the HCR and of the political parties opposed to the recognition of Taiwan and, above all, desirous of safeguarding the cohesion of the transitional bodies, Amadou Cheiffou rescinded his decision, according to a communique issued by his office.

The HCR and, perhaps the entire nation, naively believed that the Taiwan affair was over and done with. This feeling was shared by the head of state himself who, 48 hours later, released a communique expressing satisfaction with the happy ending to this affair and calling for renewed coherence on the part of the transitional bodies.

Questioned about this affair at the OAU summit in Dakar, the prime minister told reporters: The HCR asked me to reconsider my stand. I agreed to reexamine the issue. Today, we have every belief that this affair has not ended. Indeed, Prime Minister Amadou Cheiffou has just suspended his decision. Yes, he suspended it in order to make better use of the support reportedly given him in this affair by certain social classes, and to take his time to convince others to break their silence and to fully back his argument. Furthermore, he did not lose hope of convincing certain parties, which had already expressed their opposition to the recognition of Taiwan, to change their minds.

How can we consider this case as shelved when we know that for almost a week now a Taiwanese delegation is in our capital, even if the nation was not officially informed? The prime minister is therefore waiting to have the majority on his side in order to blithely ignore the other transitional bodies and to sign or simply make official the reestablishment of our diplomatic relations with Taiwan. That is, at least, what we can explicitly gather from his interview with AFP in a release issued in Dakar on 3 July.

Despite all these maneuvers, we believe the Taiwan affair must be considered as definitively shelved. Yes, we must continue our relations with mainland China. This said, whatever the prime minister's final decision in this affair, the HCR must pronounce clearly the fate to be reserved for Amadou Cheiffou. It must do so through

secret ballot, should the need arise, and it should have the courage to inform the nation about this vote, whatever the result.

Of course, it is understood that in this transitional period when the role of democratic forces is in the forefront, the HCR cannot have the ambition of deciding alone on the prime minister's fate. But at the end of its proceedings, it would have at least had the merit of putting the problem before the nation and objectively debating upon it. But the HCR must do still better at this present session; that is, it must think about making concrete and precise proposals to the nation. The implementation of these proposals could contribute to improving the political, economic, social, and cultural situation in our country. We must also not forget the important question of security which affects everything in a country.

Members of the HCR, the nation is watching us today. It is up to us to be aware, more than ever before, of the serious situation facing our country and to live up to our responsibilities; certainly, nothing but our responsibilities, all our responsibilities.

Togo

Army Implicated in Olympio Assassination Attempt

AB0807121092 London BBC World Service
in English 0630 GMT 8 Jul 92

[From the "Network Africa" program hosted by Rick Wells]

[Text] [Wells] One day in May this year on the way to address a political rally in central Togo, the opposition leader Gilchrist Olympio's convoy was sprayed with bullets. Gilchrist himself was hit a number of times but survived. Four others died in the attack. According to Mr. Olympio, many people believed the attackers were military people dressed in civilian clothes and as such they were acting with the approval of President Eyadema.

Well, the preliminary findings of an international inquiry into the shooting have now been released and a short while ago, I spoke to one of the three men involved in the investigation, a retired British policeman, Ralph Crushall. I asked him first about the allegation that Mr. Olympio's attackers were, in fact, from the Togolese Army.

[Begin recording] [Crushall] Yes, the evidence that we had obtained suggests very strongly that the military were involved.

[Wells] What exactly did you find out then?

[Crushall] What I have to be careful of is disclosing the full account of the report which will be issued next week but, basically, it amounts to the type of munitions used and the tactics adopted at the time, and certain other evidence that we were able to gather.

[Wells] Well, from this preliminary piece of your report that I have here in front of me, you talk about the kind of arms used, also the fact that the vehicles used belong to the Army.

[Crushall] Yes, that is correct.

[Wells] And also there is something about the area in which the attack took place. What was that?

[Crushall] Well, that was largely the choice of site, which indicated the degree of military planning in the attack.

[Wells] Now, there is something which...[pauses] I do not know—it seems to me to be fairly direct in the way it is stated in your report here. It says that, as well as this talk about military involvement, it points a finger at one Captain Ernest Gnassingbe, who is actually son of the president, President Eyadema. Now, why is that there? What conclusions can we draw from this?

[Crushall] The point about that is there was a witness who knows that man and who saw him in the locality immediately prior to the attack.

[Wells] So that is all you can say about it?

[Crushall] That is all I want to say at the moment, but that is the situation, yes.

[Wells] In the last paragraph of your report, you actually talk about the Armed Forces of Togo being out to eliminate physically the leaders of the opposition democratic movement. What did you find out about that?

[Crushall] Well, again that was putting together a number of things we heard from various witnesses who came to us, and also the reaction we received from a number of other people. But it is not something I want to enlarge on without reference to the report, before that is published.

[Wells] What would you say to the people who might think that you are an outsider, you are a former policeman from Britain going to Togo, talking to people there and producing this report. The chances are that you may well have picked up opposition gossip, nothing very substantial. Are you convinced that you have got something substantial for your report?

[Crushall] Yes, the evidence that we gathered was more than simply the accounts of witnesses alone. One is able to evaluate witnesses when one talks to them, and indeed, one of the strengths was that we did come from outside, and that we were clearly impartial, and people felt safe so they could talk us. [end recording]

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